

READ FIRST, THEN LAY BY FOR REFERENCE.

BLAINE AND LOGAN'S

LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE,

AND THE

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

BLAINE'S LETTER.

Following is the full text of the letter of the Hon. James G. Blaine accepting the Republican nomination for President:

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15th, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the Committee, etc., etc.

GENTLEMEN:—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the Industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of Protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for Protection, and since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to

a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of Protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision, which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well-defined and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of Protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850 an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as everyone knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United

States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a Protective Tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that, while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased sixty per cent., the aggregate property of the party increased two hundred and fourteen per cent.—showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older Nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars per month surpasses the experience of all other Nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present Revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States, since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our National character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our Revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the Public Debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the Foreign Commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of a Protective Tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interest against the Republican party. It is a com-

mon yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and often designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased indeed at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time the Foreign Commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America, elsewhere referred to, had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860 and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a Protective tariff has not injured our export trade when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years forty per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York, with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

AGRICULTURE AND THE TARIFF.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of Revenue Laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact the opponents of the present system of Revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a Protective Tariff, and the effort is thus

made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of Free Trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that, during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between eight and nine hundred million dollars each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to twenty-six hundred millions, while Illinois had advanced to thirty-two hundred millions. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of fifteen hundred millions. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860 exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the year since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

OUR INTERNAL COMMERCE.

Such facts as these touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also that, in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute Free Trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other Nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention or

Governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by fifty-six millions of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the Industrial System which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

EFFECT UPON THE MECHANIC AND THE LABORER.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and working-men of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between Labor and Capital—guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to

make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which under Republican administrations has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures, and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years and which the power of increased capital will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no power desires to attack the United States. With the Nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that, for the future, all International troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration and it should in my judgement be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the Nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and

Christian principle of Arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish American States has been most happy and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State in June, 1880, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance in an official despatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish-America as wisely and as persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western hemisphere amounted to three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite fifty millions—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded two hundred and twenty-five millions, while the exports were less than one hundred and twenty-five millions—showing a balance against us of more than one hundred millions of dollars. But the money does not go to Spanish America.—We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factories—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successfully made with every nation of North and South America.—While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa it is the especial province of the country to improve and expand its trade with the notions of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of *American* which belongs to us in our National capacity must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safe-guard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquility and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbursts in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the Revenue Laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war, will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the Civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevail-

ing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period, it can be said to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment, which prevailed when the number was smaller, have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the Legislative branch of the Government from all control of appointments and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer, except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusions of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the Civil Service Law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to Secretaries of Legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business and the appointing power should regard this as prior and ulterior consideration.

THE MORMON QUESTION.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshipped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly intrenched in one of the territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

OUR CURRENCY.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of landholders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the Public Domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand

acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so.

OUR SHIPPING INTERESTS.

Among our National interest one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freightage larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our Navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

SACREDNESS OF THE BALLOT.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the Liberty of the People. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no National welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true Government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against Constitutional Liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power.

I am with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

LOGAN'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, July 19, '84.

DEAR SIR:—Having received from you on the 24th of June the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which

he may be called by the voice of his countryman, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and a deep sense of its responsibilities and if elected shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of the party in a manner so flattering will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late convention prohibits upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform and to discuss them briefly.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The resolutions of the platform declaring for a levy of such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just award and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity," meet my hearty approval.

If there be a nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communion to all the world and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which cannot be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber lands and waterways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to draw comparisons between our own economic systems and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities and our aspirations.

In all successful government it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of that just balance between them, one or the other suffers, and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our own national life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute Free Trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our national credit, the financial and business uncertainties and general lack of prosperity under that system can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican party sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have, nevertheless, been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this

measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican party during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concession to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear.

The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and, in the great expense of the necessities of life, are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing and health-producing food with which wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable.

EVILS OF FREE TRADE.

Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets, alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits or he must make the American laborer suffer in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case of a substantial reduction of pay, there can be compensating advantages for American labor, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering in duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectively; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self-improvement and his value as a citizen, charged with a portion of the obligations of government, would be lessened; the moral tone of the laboring class would suffer, and in turn the interests of capital and the well-being of orderly citizens in general would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is, how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventative of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people. The National Convention, in view of the special dangers menacing the wool interests of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this indus-

try upon a prosperous basis should be extended.

No one realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every home industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest point our great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in competition with our own, thus not only building up our foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

OUR MONETARY SYSTEM.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which, it is safe to say, has never before been equaled by that of any other nation. Under the operation of our system of finance the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standards, and as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore, under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States or in the bills of the national banks.

The advantage of having a bank note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before, should be appreciated by all. The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

FOREIGN COMMERCE AND RELATIONS.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-state and foreign commerce and to the matter of our foreign relations are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to the inter-state commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of the country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said: "Time is money;" and also of un-

just charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken, through peaceful, orderly and conservative methods, to open markets, which have been and are now monopolized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends the people of the Brazilian empire.

The Republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations and mutual hopes. "The great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration and as the model for them to build upon, and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us as at least a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachment which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any of the members of the American Republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or Congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached.

An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would at once ensue, reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels and inure to the greater prosperity of all the American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

FOREIGN POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The United States has grown to be a government representing more than 50,000,000 people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our government should construct enormous fleets of approved ironclads and maintain a com-

mensurate body of seaman, in order to place ourselves on a war footing with the military and naval powers of Europe.

Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad, or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if they ever should be, by the different systems of government upon another continent. An appeal to the right by such a government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the treaty of Washington we led the world in the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The central idea of a Republican form of government is the rule of the whole people as opposed to the other forms, which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty and thus laid the basis of our present republic. While technically a government of the people, it was in strictness only a government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion held in a condition of absolute despotic and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern Christian nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people, and 4,000,000 human creatures emerged from the condition of bondsmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation, which guaranteed by every title the citizenship and full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is that while theoretically we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States, the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a con-

siderable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats.

In the face of the incontestible truth, these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and with the white Republicans are numerically in the excess of the Democrats, yet precisely the same political result obtains—the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a “blind” or as a stroke of finesse. Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practiced in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in national elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people in a double sense; First. It is in violation, open, direct and flagrant, of the primary principle upon which our government is supposed to rest, viz.: That the control of the government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government; that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions. Second. It is in violation of the right and interests of the States wherein are particularly centred the great wealth and industries of the nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the national taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength.

Under this system, minorities actually attempt to direct the course of national affairs, and, though, up to this time success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interest of an overwhelming majority of our people North and South to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element was really in the majority they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority; but neither statistics of population nor the unavoidable logic of the situation can be overridden or escaped. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have had but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a

popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people.

In the meantime it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of national elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning national legislation, and especially to the end that, in presidential contests, the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling, lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority.

In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst and, on a compliance with our laws, to a co-operation in our government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to encourage the oppressed of other nations and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our national family or to embrace any higher civilization than their own.

To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and, if not sufficiently so now, should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The subject of civil service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that towards its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter, with the view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto, "To the victor belong the spoils," became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard

of justice, excellence and public morality, the Republican party has assiduously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the executive; of how to give encouragement to and provoke emulation in the various government employes, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value in the belief that they possess a life calling, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject, but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising, without performing.

Under Republican rule the result has been that, without engrafting any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient and purer in all of its features than ever before since the establishment of our government, and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

REMAINING TWIN RELIC OF BARBARISM.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space permit. I limit myself to saying that while there should be the most rigid economy of governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony, either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperiled by adverse legislation.

The law establishing a labor bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-

hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other.

We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own.

The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

To the Hon. John B. Henderson, chairman of the committee.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Mr. McKinley of Ohio, from the Committee on Resolutions, then presented the report, as follows, and it was unanimously adopted:

The Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent—the safe-guard of liberty and embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the

requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to office in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights; which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union be kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and correct returns.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all their relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railway alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our working men in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of

American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporations, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Republican soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but es-

pecially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency that it may in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law for superior force.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the Tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve taxpayers without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest, for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of the former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.